

JOHN V'S DAUGHTERS: A PALAIOLOGAN PUZZLE

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This brief inquiry into the baffling problems of John V's daughters provides only hypothetical solutions and makes no attempt to beat every female of the dynasty out of its genealogical jungle.¹ The ways in which the family used its paternal and maternal surnames remain obscure,² while it cannot be excluded that imperial princesses were betrothed in infancy, married to cousins, extracted from convents, or traded out to Turkish harems.

The evidence relating to the daughters of John V Palaiologos is especially conflicting. The alleged marriages of no less than three of his daughters to the Ottoman ruler Murad and his sons Yakub and Bayezid, as proposed by A. Alderson but without clear references to any sources,³ are here ignored, though fifteenth-century Turkish chronicles may yet provide some basis for such claims. There are Serbian and other texts which suggest that a daughter of John V married her Latin cousin Francesco II Gattilusio of Lesbos. The details on that family presented by K. Hopf⁴ have misled many scholars and are also best ignored, even if his Genoese and other sources may eventually produce valuable information. The best general treatment is that of W. Miller,⁵ while G. Dennis' study of the Lesbos

Chronicle corrects a number of errors and constitutes a very reliable point of departure.⁶ The Gattilusio coins, inscriptions, and escutcheons present further difficulties. The family trees given below show only persons relevant to the discussion, brothers and sisters not always being in order of seniority; Francesco II's marriage remains hypothetical on both trees.

John V, the son of Andronikos III Palaiologos and Giovanna of Savoy, whom the Greeks called Anna, married Helena, daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos and Eirene Asanina. John V seems to have had at least two daughters, possibly more. One, named Eirene, was left in Constantinople in 1352 with her grandmother,⁷ that is, with Eirene Asanina, since Anna of Savoy was governing Thessalonika from 1351 until her death, which occurred in 1365 or 1366;⁸ John V's daughter or daughters may nonetheless have spent time with Anna in Thessalonika.⁹ Eirene was born in 1349¹⁰ and was presumably the unnamed daughter, described as barely ten years old, who was betrothed, apparently in 1358, to Halil, a son of the Ottoman ruler Orhan;¹¹ Halil seems to have died soon after,¹² so there may have been no more than a betrothal or an unconsummated marriage.

¹Thanks for valuable advice and cautionary counsel are due to Anthony Bryer, Julian Chrysostomides, Slobodan Ćurčić, George Dennis, Donald Nicol, Nikos Oikonomidès, Elizabeth Zachariadou, and above all to Sima Ćirković who provided invaluable information from the Serbian texts.

²Cf. D. Nicol, "The Prosopography of the Byzantine Aristocracy," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984).

³A. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), tables xxiii–xxiv. Such marriages were certainly possible: A. Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine Ottoman Marriage," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. Davis et al. (Oxford, 1981); if Bryer, 479, following Alderson, were correct in accepting that a daughter of John V married the Sultan Murad in 1389, her identity would constitute a further puzzle.

⁴K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, II (Leipzig, 1868), 150–53; idem, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), 502. Unfortunately, the entries in E. Trapp et al., *PLP* 2 (Vienna, 1977), 153–56, employ Hopf's works.

⁵W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (London, 1921).

⁶G. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks: 1350–1420* (London, 1982), art. I.

⁷*Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, III (Bonn, 1832), 238.

⁸R. J. Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, I (Rome, 1970), 313–16; D. Nicol and S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonika: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN*, ser. 6, 19 (1977); N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Docheiariou* (Paris, 1984), 209.

⁹See below, 109.

¹⁰P. Schreiner, "La chronique brève de 1352: Texte, traduction et commentaire," *OCP* 31 (1965), 373.

¹¹D. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus): Ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), 134–35 note 4; F. Tinnefeld, "Kaiser Ioannes V. Palaiologos und der Gouverneur von Phokaia 1356–1358," *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 1 (1981), 268. J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 18 note 42, dismisses the story.

¹²The date of Halil's death is unknown; Alderson, *Structure*, table xxii, gives ca. 1360.

According to the Cypriot chroniclers, envoys from Constantinople reached Famagusta on 8 November 1372 to propose that the boy king Pierre de Lusignan should marry the emperor's beautiful, virgin, and "only" daughter, offering a great dowry that was to include many castles in "Greece"; Marie de Lusignan, wife of Manuel Kantakouzenos, despot of the Morea, arrived in Cyprus at the same time to press for this marriage, despite which it was declined. Leontios Makhairas specifically mentioned the emperor as John V and one of the envoys as Georgios Bardales, a knight of Constantinople.¹³ Manuel Kantakouzenos is not known to have had any children, and it seems unlikely that the proposed bride was his daughter, despite the connections with Greece and the Morea. Manuel II, however, visited the Morea in the winter of 1370/71 and made a donation at the request of Marie de Lusignan,¹⁴ while his father, John V, was presumably there in mid-1371 in the course of his long journey from Venice to Constantinople.¹⁵

An undated entry in a Greek short chronicle, placed between two entries for 1373, stated that two sisters of the "emperor" had "put on black," that is, had withdrawn into a convent, though they might have left it again in order to marry. This chronicle referred to both John V and his son Andronikos as "emperor."¹⁶ The sisters are unlikely to have been otherwise unknown daughters of Andronikos IV,¹⁷ though his son John VII, of whom they might theoretically also have been sisters, did become emperor in 1377.¹⁸ Matthew Kantakouzenos, who had been emperor but had abdicated in 1357, was still alive; he had three sisters of whom Helena was John V's wife and only became a nun in or after 1391, while Maria and Theodora were also both alive and widows in 1381, though Maria had entered a convent in 1359.¹⁹ Conceivably the two sisters of 1373 whose brother was an "emperor" were daughters of John V, since Andronikos IV, to whom they would in that case have been

sisters, had been emperor at least since 1355.²⁰ The same short chronicle recorded the death in or shortly after September 1376 of Andronikos IV's sister Maria.²¹ This Maria, who would have been John V's daughter, must have been the sister who, according to the Venetian chancellor Raffaino de Caresinis, was offered by Andronikos to the Turkish ruler Murad apparently in August 1376 or soon after, but who died before the marriage could take place.²²

John V's daughter Eirene was born in 1349 and betrothed to Halil in about 1358. One of John's daughters was offered to the king of Cyprus in 1372, and his daughter Maria was promised to Murad in 1376 but then died. Two daughters may have retired into a convent, possibly in 1373. One daughter may have married Francesco II Gattilusio in 1384 or a little earlier, possibly having left a convent to do so, and she could well have been alive in 1397. John V probably had several daughters, legitimate or otherwise,²³ one or more who married, one or more who had died by about 1376, and one or more who entered a convent; the conceivable permutations of events are numerous.

Though it would have involved marriages between two sets of cousins, it seems that a daughter of John V may have become the wife of Francesco II Gattilusio, who was lord of Lesbos from 1384 onward; his father, Francesco I, had married John V's sister Eirene, who then changed her name to Maria, in about 1357. Francesco II's wife has never been identified, even though one of her daughters married John VII and another the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazarević. Stefan's biographer Konstantin the Philosopher, who wrote in about 1431, stated that Stefan's wife, undoubtedly a daughter of Francesco II, was "through her mother a niece of the emperor Manuel, from whom the lords and lineage of her family were named Palaiologi." Konstantin used the Greek word *anepsia* for niece rather than one or other of the Serbian terms that meant either niece on the mother's side or niece on the father's side. It was not true that the Gattilusio took their Palaiologos name from Francesco II's wife, since his father had already married a Palaiolo-

¹³Text and references to other chronicles in Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. R. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), I, 326–30; II, 148–49.

¹⁴Text in *Actes de Lavra*, III: *De 1329 à 1500*, ed. P. Lemerle et al. (Paris, 1979), 163–66.

¹⁵P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1975–79), II, 301–2.

¹⁶Text in Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 95.

¹⁷As proposed in A. T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen: 1259–1453* (Speyer, 1938), 54.

¹⁸Cf. Barker, *Manuel II*, 29 note 70, 75 note 200.

¹⁹Nicol, *Byzantine Family*, 118, 130–38; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 582–83.

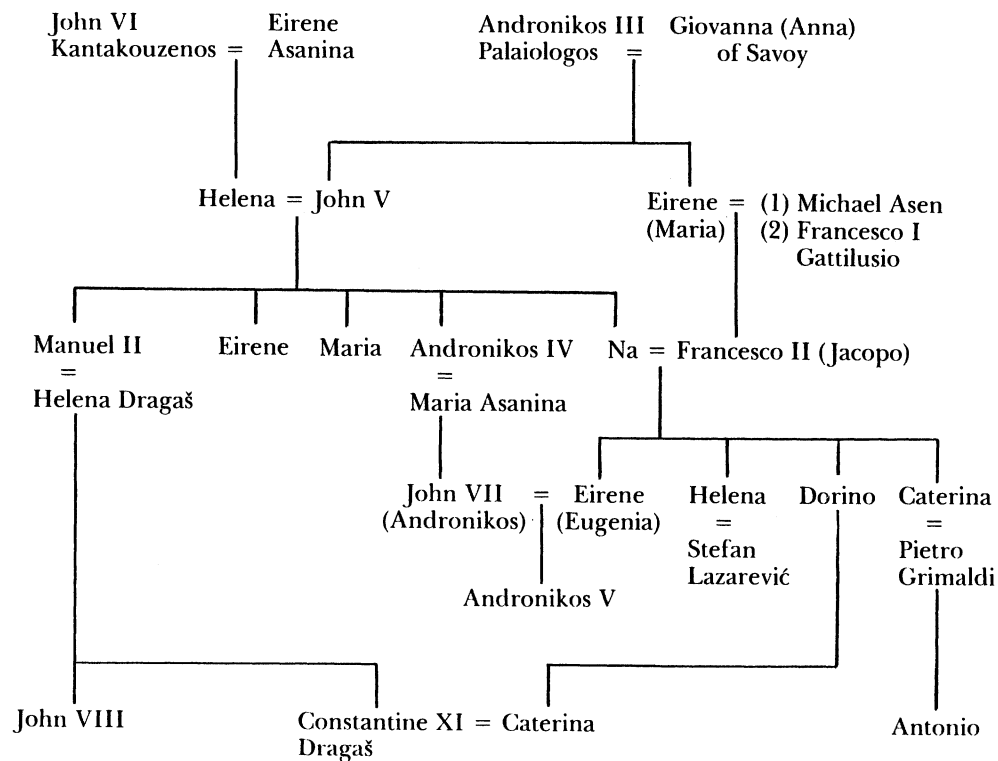
²⁰G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica: 1382–1387* (Rome, 1960), 12, 26 note 1.

²¹Text in Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 96; Barker, *Manuel II*, 458–60, proposes October 1376 for Maria's death.

²²*Raphayni de Caresinis Cancellarii Venetiarum Cronica*, AA. 1343–1388, ed. E. Pastorello, in RISS, n.s. 12.2 (Bologna, 1922), 32.

²³Writing after 1453, Doukas, *Istoria turco-byzantinā: 1341–1462*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 65, did describe John V as debauched.

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gina. Konstantin said that Stefan first saw his wife on Lesbos, that Francesco II offered him a choice among his daughters, and that the marriage was arranged “with the advice and participation” of the bride’s sister, Empress Eirene.²⁴ There was also a third daughter, Caterina, who married the Genoese Pietro Grimaldi, lord of Breglio.²⁵

Girardo Sagredo, who left Pera for Lesbos with Stefan on 4 September 1402, reported that John VII had recently granted Stefan the title of despot and that the latter “voleua tuor per soa moglier la fiola del signor de Methelin, lequal noze tractaua dicto Imperador, ma dapossa fo dicto che questo matrimonio non se conspiria.”²⁶ This suggests that

²⁴ Konstantin the Philosopher, in “Život Stefana Lazarevića despota srpskoga,” ed. V. Jagić, *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 42 (1875), 279. *Anepsia* was used in Serbian to mean cousin, but Helena could not have been Manuel II’s first cousin.

²⁵ Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 20.

²⁶ Copy in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Latino Classe X 299 [3512], fols. 69^v–70 (awaiting full publication); a garbled later version is reprinted in M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie: 1402* (rpr. with additions: London, 1977), 129–34.

John VII, and maybe his wife, Eirene, had arranged the marriage in Constantinople, while there were rumors that it would not take place. Maybe Stefan changed his mind when he reached Lesbos and met Eirene’s sister.²⁷ It seems extraordinary that nothing whatsoever is known about Stefan’s wife after her marriage. A letter of Stefan’s mother, Milica, dated 12 September 1405 referred to his wedding on that day,²⁸ but no wife was mentioned in any contemporary source other than Konstantin the Philosopher, who did not give her name. Apparently there were never any children; nothing is known of her death or burial; and, most unusual, she did not appear in any of the post-1402 fresco portraits of Stefan, including one of 1407 in which the despot was alone and another of 1408 in which

²⁷ It has been suggested that *The Work of Love* ascribed to Stefan was written on Lesbos in 1402, but it seems to be an allegorical composition rather than a declaration of love to a woman; Helena Gattilusio would not, presumably, have understood Serbian in any case.

²⁸ Text in L. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, I (Belgrade, 1929), 198–99.

he was with his brother Vuk,²⁹ or in any Serbian royal obituaries. Maybe she was too young for the marriage to be consummated, and perhaps she stayed on Lesbos and never traveled to Serbia; possibly she died soon after her marriage.

Some of the later and often unreliable Serbian annals did mention Stefan's wife, saying that she was brought from Galata, that is, from Pera, that she was a "daughter of the Kantakouzen," and that the marriage was barren or childless; seven of the manuscripts added "Palaiolog" after "Kantakouzen." These annals called her Jelača or Helena and were in fact the only source to give her name.³⁰ It is true that John VII, Stefan, and Francesco II were together in Pera and Constantinople late in August and in the first days of September 1402; that Stefan went to Lesbos early in September and was married, possibly in that month; and that a Genoese document from Pera of 10 December 1403 described Stefan as son-in-law of Francesco II.³¹ However, there is nothing in the annals, apart from the name Jelača, that could not have been taken from Konstantin the Philosopher, if we suppose that at some later time a Serbian copyist would not have recognized the form "Katheolouz" which Konstantin gave for "Gattilusio" and could quite well have transformed it into "Kantakouzen." That Stefan was childless was well known, and the remark in the annals that the couple was barren need not be taken as compelling evidence that the marriage was consummated. By 1402 the custom regarding the creation of a Serbian despot had become ambiguous, as there was no longer a Serbian emperor to create one.³² Stefan may have been given the title as the leading Serbian ruler and as a new ally and brother-in-law of John VII, but, if Stefan's new wife was indeed a daughter of an imperial Palaiologina, that also made Stefan a close relation of the imperial family. The title of despot was confirmed to him in 1410 by Manuel II.³³

Konstantin the Philosopher might have con-

fused Stefan's wife's mother with her Palaiologina grandmother, but he was in many ways an accurate writer; he had long been close to Stefan and should have known who was the despot's mother-in-law. Yet it is strange that Konstantin is the only known source to have mentioned an imperial connection of which the Serbs might well have been proud. In 1392 Manuel II married Helena Dragaš, the daughter of the Serbian leader Konstantin Dejanović who was himself the son of Emperor Stefan Dušan's sister Eudoxia,³⁴ and if Francesco II had married a sister of Helena Dragaš, then his daughter would, through her mother, have been Manuel's niece by marriage, but she would not have been a Palaiologina and she could scarcely have been raised by Marie de Bourbon or by any other empress, Latin or Greek, as Francesco's wife was said to have been.³⁵ No sister of Helena Dragaš is known, and it seems unlikely that Francesco II would have married a Serbian wife as early as 1384. If, as certain late versions of the annals stated, Stefan married a Kantakouzene or a Kantakouzene Palaiologina, then his mother-in-law could not have been a sister of Helena Dragaš, but she could have been a daughter of John V Palaiologos whose wife was indeed a Kantakouzene. There were, of course, other women who had the names Palaiologina Kantakouzene. John VI's son, Emperor Matthew Kantakouzenos and his wife, Eirene Palaiologina, had three daughters: Theodora, Helena, and Maria. Theodora was with her grandmother in a convent in 1356, and no more is known of her, while Maria was dead by 1373, and Helena became countess of Salona and entered Bayezid's harem in 1394.³⁶ One problem here is that there was no clearly discernible rule governing the choice and arrangement of Byzantine princely surnames, though the use of the mother's name was certainly possible in the Palaiologos family.³⁷

²⁹ Loenertz, *Byzantina*, I, 384. Konstantin Dejanović's first wife, Helena's mother, is unknown, but soon after 1386 he married Eudoxia, daughter of Alexios III of Trebizond and widow of a Turkish prince: *ibid.*, 387–88.

³⁰ See below, 109.

³¹ Nicol, *Byzantine Family*, 160–64. Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, apparently Manuel II's uncle, had no known daughter: *ibid.*, 165–66. Manuel II's brother Theodore did not marry Bartolomea Acciaiuoli until 1383/84; he may have had an illegitimate daughter who married the Ottoman ruler Süleyman in about 1409: Loenertz, *Byzantina*, I, 354; Barker, *Manuel II*, 253–54 note 88. Manuel II himself had two or three illegitimate daughters, one of whom, named Zampia or Isabella, married Ilario Doria, perhaps in 1392: *ibid.*, 474–75.

³² Thus a Theodora Palaiologina, who died in about 1401, passed her name to her daughter Eirene who gave it to her son Alexios: Papadopoulos, *Versuch*, 87–88.

²⁹ M. Purković, *Knez i despot Stefan Lazarević* (Belgrade, 1978), 84 and plates.

³⁰ L. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi* (Belgrade, 1927), 200, 218. If she was called Helena, presumably after her maternal grandmother, that might indicate that she was younger than her sister Eirene, presumably named after their paternal grandmother.

³¹ Texts, in addition to Konstantin, "Život," 279, in Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Campagne*, 129–34, and N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, I (Paris, 1899), 69–70, 72–73.

³² B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade, 1960), 182–84.

³³ Konstantin, "Život," 296.

In an act of 20 October 1406 Manuel II described Stefan as his *exadelphos*, more strictly cousin or nephew,³⁸ which could more loosely have meant kinsman or possibly nephew-by-marriage, as would have been the case had Stefan's wife been Manuel's niece. Two papal bulls of 1425 described Helena's brothers Jacopo, Palamede, and Dorino Gattilusio as "fratres germani, ex parentibus natione Januensibus procreati,"³⁹ which might imply that their mother, wife of Francesco II, was Genoese. In 1440 the pope issued a bull concerning the son of a sister of the lord of Lesbos. This bull described that sister, who was Caterina, a daughter of Francesco II, as the *neptis* of John VIII Palaiologos and described her son, Antonio Grimaldi de Breglio, as John VIII's *proneptis* or *consanguineus*.⁴⁰ She was the sister-in-law of her sister Eirene's husband, John VII, and he was a nephew of John VIII's father, Manuel II, but that would scarcely have made her John VIII's *neptis*. However, if Francesco II had married John V's daughter, then Caterina would have been a niece of Manuel II who was John VIII's father, and in that case John VIII was her first cousin and she could not have been his niece. The silence of the sources, and even of the Greek chronicler Doukas who was so close to the Gattilusio family, is in itself a puzzling fact suggesting that there was something to conceal. If Francesco II's wife was John V's daughter, he had married his cousin, and their daughter Eirene's husband, John VII, was her cousin, yet the patriarch's acts survive and they contained no indication that licenses were issued for any such unions.⁴¹ The explanation may have involved an illegitimate Palaiologina daughter, or a daughter who had been married or betrothed to a Turk, or one who had left a convent.

Francesco I Gattilusio came from Genoa and was a nephew of Oberto Gattilusio;⁴² his father's name is unknown, while his mother may have been a Doria.⁴³ Francesco I was a piratical adventurer who

helped John V recover Constantinople in 1354,⁴⁴ was granted Lesbos in 1355, and probably in 1357 married John's sister Eirene. Eirene was born in about 1330, married Michael Asen of Bulgaria, and on his death returned to Constantinople, apparently in 1356; with her new marriage she changed her name to Maria, thus confusing contemporary chroniclers.⁴⁵ Thereafter the Palaiologos and Gattilusio families maintained a fluctuating alliance across four generations; Dorino Gattilusio's daughter Caterina married Constantine XI Palaiologos in 1441 while he was still despot of the Morea, though she died before he became emperor.

On 6 August 1384 Francesco I and two of his sons, Andronikos and Domenico, were killed in an earthquake; a third son survived and became ruler of Lesbos, changing his name, for some reason not explained, from Jacopo to that of his father. He governed "for a few years" with the help of his uncle Niccolò Gattilusio, lord of Ainos, and thereafter by himself.⁴⁶ The chronicle of the Italian Pietro Gazata, who died in 1412, stated that Francesco II had been a "filius parvus" who was "in lecto cum patre" at the time of the earthquake.⁴⁷ When Ruy González de Clavijo visited Lesbos in 1403 he heard a similar story; he referred to Francesco II as "johan de catalus" and reported that he had been saved because he was in a cradle—"en vna cuna"; he also said that Francesco I's wife died in the disaster.⁴⁸ Probably she had in fact died before her husband, for neither the Lesbos Chronicle nor a letter that Demetrios Kydones wrote from Constantinople soon after the event made any mention of her being killed in the earthquake. Kydones said nothing about a surviving son, though he did describe how the two dead sons' prospective brides arrived in Lesbos from afar and searched among the ruins for the mangled corpses of the intended husbands they had never seen.⁴⁹

Clavijo, visiting Lesbos nearly twenty years after

³⁸Text in *Actes de Saint-Pantélémon*, ed. P. Lemerle et al. (Paris, 1982), 118–20.

³⁹Texts in *Pontificia Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis Recognoscendo: Fontes*, 3 ser., XIV, tom. 2 = *Acta Martini P. P. V (1417–1431)*, ed. A. Tăutu (Rome, 1980), 852–53.

⁴⁰Partial text in Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 20 note 49; see also below, note 82.

⁴¹Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. vi, *Les registres de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979). A possible explanation is that these were Roman rather than Orthodox marriages; in 1392 Ilario Doria, who married an illegitimate daughter of Manuel II, made a profession of Orthodox faith: Barker, *Manuel II*, 474–75.

⁴²Miller, *Essays*, 314; cf. Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 13 note 25.

⁴³See below, 110 f.

⁴⁴D. Nicol, "The Abdication of John VI Cantacuzene," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2 (1967), 275–79.

⁴⁵As proposed in F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones: Briefe*, I. 2 (Stuttgart, 1982), 557–64, resuming the unpublished thesis of I. K. Schapkareff. It was generally held hitherto that Eirene returned to Constantinople and disappeared in 1356, while her sister Maria married Francesco I in 1355.

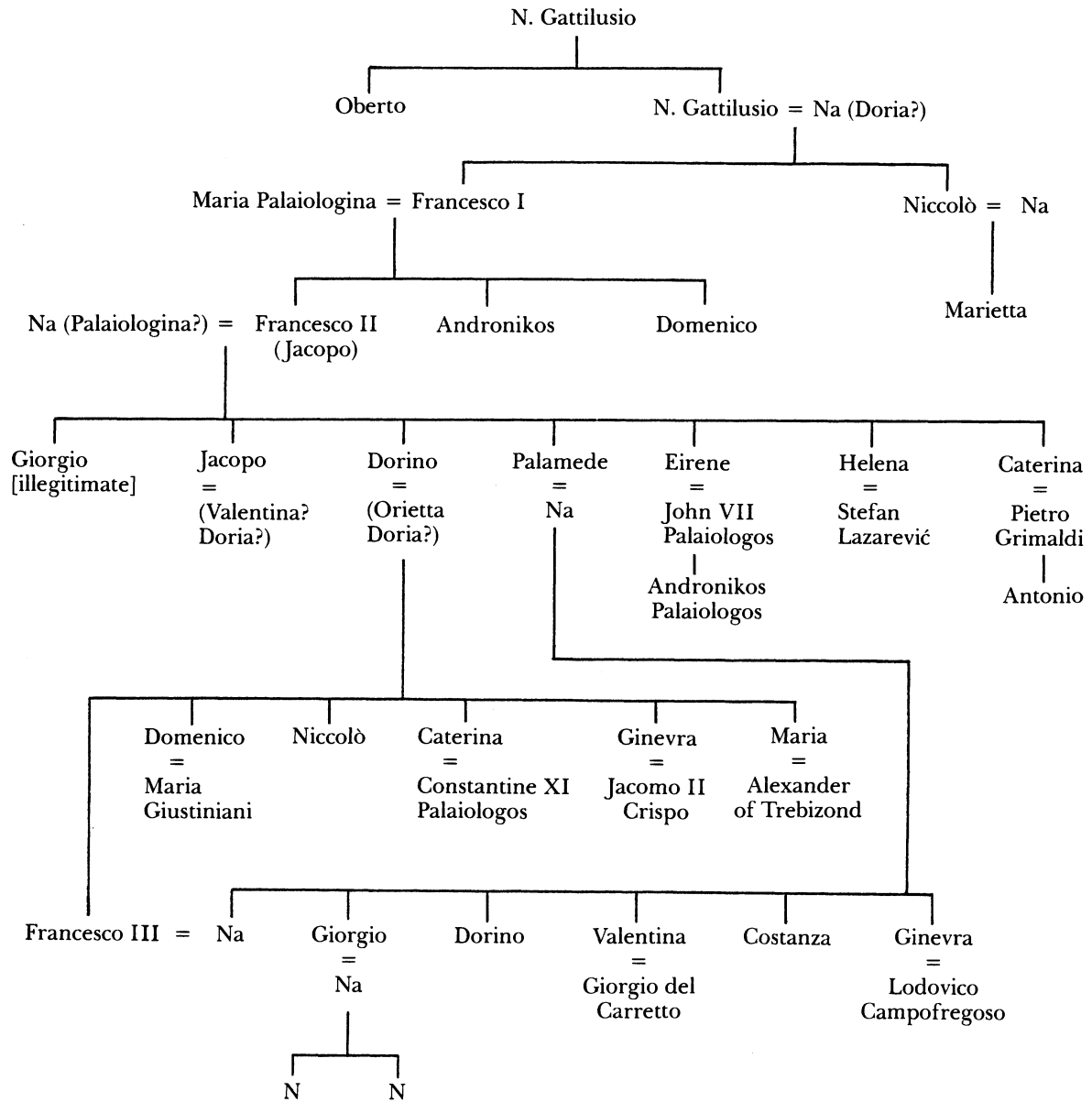
⁴⁶Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 12–17.

⁴⁷*Chronicon Regiense*, in RISS 18, ed. L. Muratori (Milan, 1731), 90, giving the date as August 1383.

⁴⁸Text in *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 27.

⁴⁹Text in *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, ed. R. J. Loenertz, II (Vatican City, 1960), 190–92.

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the disaster, was strangely mistaken about Francesco II's name, and, together with the Lesbos Chronicle and Pietro Gazata, he was wrong about the age of Francesco II who seems to have been about twenty in 1384. Francesco's illegitimate son Giorgio was sufficiently old to be sent on a mission to Burgundy in 1397;⁵⁰ furthermore, his eldest legitimate son, Jacopo, was old enough to succeed him in 1403, while his daughter Eirene, later known as Eugenia, married John VII in or before 1397,⁵¹ possibly when Francesco II was in Pera with his galley in June 1396.⁵² Francesco II must have been married by 1384 or earlier, since his third son, Palamede, was born in about 1389⁵³ and there were at least three daughters, one or more of whom may well have been born before Palamede. Francesco may in fact have been the eldest son, married before the earthquake and therefore saved from death precisely because he was not sleeping in the same place as his father; in that case his wife—assuming that he had only one—was presumably saved as well. His parents had been married in or just before 1357, and their eldest son could have been fourteen in about 1372 when John V's eldest daughter, Eirene, would have been twenty-three and a younger daughter could have been about nineteen; Francesco II and his wife would have had good time to have had their six or more children, including John VII's wife, Eirene, who bore a son in or after 1397, probably in 1400.⁵⁴ It seems unlikely that it was John V's daughter Eirene whom Francesco II married since that was his daughter's name and Palaiologan children were seldom given a parent's first name.

John V was continually anxious for Latin alliances and support, especially during the years down to 1373.⁵⁵ One or more of his daughters may have

been left with their maternal grandmother, Anna of Savoy, at Thessalonika or even sent to some Latin household; in 1355 John V actually proposed that his second son, Manuel II, be educated by the pope in Avignon.⁵⁶ John might, in one of many moments of difficulty, have married one of his daughters to Francesco I Gattilusio's son. In 1397 Francesco II's wife—and there is no indication that he had more than one wife—was on Lesbos where she received the French survivors of the Nikopolis crusade with much graciousness, according to Froissart who explained that she was extremely courteous and well educated because in her youth she had been raised in the household of the "empress of Constantinople," Marie de Bourbon; Froissart wrote as if Francesco II's wife was his superior in rank.⁵⁷ Marie de Bourbon was the widow of the titular Latin emperor, Roberto of Taranto, and she had extensive possessions in the Morea.⁵⁸ In May 1368 she was living in her house in Rome⁵⁹ and may have met John V and Francesco II when they were both in that city a year later.⁶⁰ Froissart may have confused Marie de Bourbon, who was also the widow of Guy de Lusignan and mother of Hughes de Lusignan, with Marie de Lusignan, also known as Marguerite and Isabelle, who was the daughter of a different Guy de Lusignan and wife of Manuel Kantakouzenos, despot of the Morea;⁶¹ she was the Marie de Lusignan who arrived in Cyprus in 1372 to press for the king's marriage to John V's daughter. More probably, Froissart confused Marie de Bourbon with another well-born Latin who was an empress of Constantinople, that is, with John V's mother, Anna of Savoy.

The surviving Gattilusio inscriptions were collected by A. Conze and F. Hasluck who, misled by

⁵⁰G. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: Text, Translation, and Notes* (Washington, D.C., 1977), xlv note 78.

⁵¹Barker, *Manuel II*, 462–65; Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 15–17. It has been argued that Eirene married John VII in or before 1390 when her father, Francesco II, was fighting for John VII in Constantinople, because an eyewitness described Francesco as John's kinsman (*srodnik*): Ignatius of Smolensk, in G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 103. Francesco II was John V's nephew but that made him only a distant connection of John V's grandson John VII. However, if Francesco II's wife were John V's daughter, then he would have been John VII's uncle by marriage and there would be no need to suppose that he was already John VII's father-in-law or that John VII was already married in 1390. The "mother" of the "emperor" who was traveling from Lombardy through Venice to Constantinople in 1390 was not John VII's wife but probably his mother, Maria Asanina: Barker, *Manuel II*, 462–65.

⁵²Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 17–18.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, art. II, 179–80.

⁵⁵Dennis, *Reign*, 31–33.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁷"...car en sa jeunesse elle avoit esté nourrie et introduitte en l'ostel de l'empereis de Constantinople madame Marie de Bourbon": *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XVI (Brussels, 1872), 48–50. Froissart explained that the French nobility was the most noble, but he did not actually say that Francesco's wife had been educated in France.

⁵⁸J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris–The Hague, 1969), 141–55. Marie spent much time in Italy, being documented at Naples in 1363, 1379, and 1387: M. Huillard-Bréholles, *Titres de la maison de Bourbon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1867–74), I, 509–13, 603; II, 27.

⁵⁹Text in L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, II (Paris, 1852), 289–91.

⁶⁰O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'Empire d'Orient: 1355–1375* (Warsaw, 1930), 190, 195–96.

⁶¹Nicol, *Byzantine Family*, 124.

Hopf, seriously misinterpreted them.⁶² The Gattilusio, who had to adapt Palaiologan emblems to incorporate in their Latin devices, did not follow all the Western heraldic conventions but seem instead to have emphasized their imperial Palaiologan connections. Furthermore, if Francesco I and Francesco II both had a Gattilusio father and a Palaiologina wife, they and their children would be difficult to distinguish heraldically. The evidence may not, therefore, be conclusive, but the corpus of surviving coins and escutcheons represents only the Gattilusio and their monograms; the Palaiologi, their emblem with the four B's, and the imperial double-headed eagle;⁶³ and the single-headed eagle of the Doria, which was, however, also used by other Genoese families.⁶⁴ The Grimaldi arms on Thasos dated 1434 carried the name of the Genoese Oberto Grimaldi⁶⁵ who acted as a captain for the Gattilusio.⁶⁶ The Kantakouzenos monogram KKNZ⁶⁷ never appears.

The coinage presents similar difficulties. Distinctions between coins ascribed to Francesco I or Francesco II seem arbitrary, since both were named Francesco and Gattilusio and both may have had Palaiologina wives. Many Gattilusio coins, including those of Francesco II's sons Jacopo and Dorino and of Dorino's sons and successors Domenico and Niccolò, bore the four Palaiologan B's, but the double-headed eagle is found only on coins of Dorino where it carries the Gattilusio arms on its chest; Jacopo did not use the imperial eagle; no coins of Palamede are known, but he was never lord of Lesbos. No other family is represented, so that there is nothing on the coins that would contradict

the possibility of a Palaiologan marriage for Francesco II.⁶⁸

Apart from the presumed Doria eagle and the arms of the Grimaldi captain and of the Gattilusio themselves, the only other emblems in the surviving inscriptions are imperial or Palaiologan. Since Francesco II cannot be shown to have married a Doria or anyone with similar arms, these materials are, like the coins, not inconsistent with his having married a Palaiologina. It remains, therefore, to examine these inscriptions in the light of demonstrable Gattilusio-Doria marriages, assuming for this purpose that the presumed Doria eagle did in fact represent that family. The Lesbos inscription dated 1 April 1373 which carried the Palaiologos monogram flanked by the Gattilusio and by the Doria arms⁶⁹ must have been the escutcheon of Francesco I who was then ruling; since his wife was evidently a Palaiologina, his mother was presumably a Doria. The arms of Gattilusio and Doria at Ainos dated 1 May 1385⁷⁰ were probably those of Francesco I's brother Niccolò, lord of Ainos by June 1384 at the latest but probably ruling there from some point between 1376 and 1379,⁷¹ who presumably had the same Doria mother as his brother. An inscription of Francesco II's son Palamede at Samothrake carried the Palaiologos monogram, the imperial eagle, and the arms of Doria and of Gattilusio with Palaiologos in chief, while another showed the Palaiologos monogram and the arms of Doria and of Gattilusio with Palaiologos in chief.⁷²

⁶² A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hanover, 1860), and F. Hasluck, "Monuments of the Gattelusii," *BSA* 15 (1908–9); M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise: XIIIe-début du XVe siècle*, I (Rome-Genoa, 1978), pl. III, publishes two photographs.

⁶³ Cf. A. Solovjev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," *SK* 7 (1935), 134–35, 156–62; E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et la souveraineté de Byzance," *REB* 19 (1961); D. Cernovodeanu, "Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress Wien, 4.–9. Oktober 1981: Akten*, II.2 (Vienna, 1982). The eagles and B's apparently originated as imperial rather than family emblems. The Palaiologos monogram, the B's, and the two-headed eagle were all used on Palaiologan coins: S. Bendall and P. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage* (London, 1979). Possibly Palaiologan symbols on Gattilusio slabs and coins sometimes indicated a recognition of overlordship.

⁶⁴ Compare the arms of Doria and Sauli in L. Belgrano, "Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13 (1887–88), pls. VII, IX.

⁶⁵ Conze, *Reise*, 37 and pl. III (4) = C. Bakirtzis, "Trois inscriptions de Kastro (Thasos)," *Thasiaca = BCH, Supp.* 5 (1979), 464–65 and fig. 5.

⁶⁶ Miller, *Essays*, 330.

⁶⁷ Nicol, *Byzantine Family*, xiv–xv.

⁶⁸ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878; rpr. Graz, 1954), 435–46 and pls. XVI to XVII (20), and G. Lunardi, *Le monete delle colonie genovesi* (Genoa, 1980), 243–76; the latter contains a full treatment with bibliography, but hopelessly confuses the dates and relationships of family members. The argument in A. Tzamalis, "Some New Evidence of the Coinage of the Gattilusii, Lords of Lesbos," *Numismatic Circular* 83 (1980), is vitiated by his assumption that Francesco II ruled from 1396 to 1400; it is not clear how Francesco II could distinguish his coins from those of Francesco I by putting *Franciscus* in place of *F*; his argument from rarity fails since Francesco II ruled for nineteen, not four, years; and if Francesco II married a Palaiologina, as suggested here, it could not be held that he placed the Palaiologos emblem on the obverse because he was less closely linked to the empire.

⁶⁹ Hasluck, "Gattelusii," 262 (2) = Balard, *Romanie génoise*, I, pl. III (b).

⁷⁰ Hasluck, "Gattelusii," 255 (3) and fig. 6.

⁷¹ Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 15. Niccolò's wife is unknown; he and his daughter Marietta were both dead by 25 May 1409: text in A. Luxoro, G. Pinello-Gentile, and C. Astengo, "Documenti riguardanti alcuni dinasti dell'Arcipelago," *Giornale ligustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, I–V (1874–78), I, 218. Hopf, *Griechenlands*, II, 151, gives Niccolò's wife as Peretta Doria, but without source. Niccolò was regent on Lesbos "for five years," i.e., until 1408; Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 19.

⁷² Conze, *Reise*, pl. III (7), (8).

These Doria arms could have represented Palamede's mother, in which case Francesco II would have been married to a Doria, but there is no compelling evidence for that, though Francesco could have been married twice. Alternatively, Palamede's unidentified wife may have been a Doria.⁷³ However, a Doria wife would not necessarily have been shown on the slab; in fact, an inscription of Palamede's brother Dorino at Old Phocaea dated 1423/24 showed an imperial eagle with Gattilusio arms on its chest flanked by the Palaiologos monogram and the Gattilusio arms but with no Doria arms,⁷⁴ and Dorino's wife was apparently a Doria.⁷⁵ The stone on Thasos that carried the Gattilusio arms with Palaiologos in chief, flanked on both sides by the arms of Grimaldi and with inscriptions in both Latin and Greek, was dated 1434,⁷⁶ at which time Dorino was lord of Thasos.⁷⁷ No inscription attributable to the eldest brother, Jacopo, survives. A stone on Lesbos carried the Palaiologos monogram flanked by the Gattilusio arms and the Doria eagle.⁷⁸ Other stones on Lesbos combined Gattilusio, Pa-

laiologos, and Doria emblems,⁷⁹ but, given the various possible Doria marriages, they cannot be assigned with certainty. Francesco II died on 26 October 1403 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jacopo, who ruled on Lesbos until 1428 when there were no living children to succeed him.⁸⁰ There was a "domina Mitelini" named Valentina in 1421⁸¹ who may have been a Doria,⁸² so Jacopo possibly had a Doria wife, and he too may have used the Gattilusio, Palaiologos, and Doria arms together. In the absence of clear heraldic rules, the evidence of the slabs is indicative but inconclusive.

The escutcheons and coins of Francesco II's sons and grandsons represented their Palaiologan and imperial connections.⁸³ An inscription at Ainos of 1422/23, without arms or emblems, referred in the genitive form to Σὺρ Παλαμίδεος Φραντζέσκου Γατελιούζου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου. This was Francesco II's son Palamede, but it is uncertain whether he or his father was being described as "Gattilusio the Palaiologos." Another inscription of 1423/24 at Old Phocaea described Francesco II's son Dorino

⁷³ Palamede had at least two sons, Giorgio and Dorino, and three daughters, Valentina, Costanza, and Ginevra; his son Giorgio had at least two children. Children of Dorino and Palamede and their spouses are documented, somewhat dubiously at times, in Miller, *Essays*, 328–33; see also A. Bakalopoulos, *Thasos: Son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912* (Paris, 1953), 15–19. Francesco I's brother Niccolò had a daughter Marietta; Jacopo's son Domenico married Maria Giustiniani; Dorino's firstborn married a daughter of Palamede; and Palamede's daughter Ginevra married doge Lodovico Campofregoso: texts in Luxoro et al., "Documenti," I, 218–19; II, 296–97; III, 316; V, 345–48, 363–65. It is said that a daughter of Palamede named Caterina married Marco Doria, and it is true that in 1488 Dorino II, heir of Palamede and Dorino I, bequeathed all their Aegean claims to a Marco Doria: text in Luxoro et al., "Documenti," V, 371–72. Palamede's daughter Valentina married Giorgio del Carretto: P. Liscandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della Repubblica di Genova (958–1797): Regesti* (Genoa, 1960), 159. Dorino's daughter Ginevra apparently married Jacomo II Crispo, duke of the Archipelago: texts in Leonardus Chiensis, *De vera nobilitate* (Avellino, 1657), 55; F. Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitienes concernant la Roumanie*, II (Paris–The Hague, 1971), 322; P. Zerlentes, *Γράμματα τῶν τελευταίων Φράγκων δούκων τοῦ Αἰγαίου πελάγους: 1438–1565* (Hermoupolis, 1924), 56–59. It seems that of Francesco II's sons, Dorino possibly married Orietta Doria, and the wives of the other three remain uncertain; of Francesco II's five known grandsons, Domenico married Maria Giustiniani, Dorino possibly married a Crispo, and the wives of the other three are uncertain. In 1426 a daughter of Jacopo was married to Niccolò Crispo: text in G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, XII (Munich, 1971), 258–60.

⁷⁴ Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 258 and fig. 9.

⁷⁵ Orietta Doria, according to U. Foglietta, *Clarorum Ligurum Elogia* (Genoa, 1588), 97–98.

⁷⁶ Conze, *Reise*, 37 and pl. III (4) = Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions," 464–65 and fig. 5.

⁷⁷ See above, 110; Miller, *Essays*, 330.

⁷⁸ Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 264 (8) = Balard, *Roumanie génoise*, I, pl. III (2).

⁷⁹ Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 262 (2), 263–64 (7), 264 (8), (9), (11), and fig. 14. Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 264, assumes that the sarcophagus on Lesbos with the Gattilusio and Palaiologos arms was that of Francesco I and Maria Palaiologina, but the Lesbos Chronicle said that Francesco I was buried "in a tomb he had ordered made": Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 12. Since the slab was unfinished, as is clear from a photograph kindly supplied by Hector Williams, it was probably much later in date.

⁸⁰ Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 15–17, shows that Francesco II died on 26 October, probably in 1403, though possibly in 1404, but his son Jacopo was lord of Lesbos by 14 August 1404: Valletta, National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 333, fol. 120^v. Therefore Francesco II died on 26 October 1403.

⁸¹ Iorga, *Notes*, I, 314, mentions "Valentine Gattilusio domina Mitelini," citing Genoa, Archivio di Stato, "Extraits des Divers; S. Georgii, reg. 1421–1425, fol. 20," of 17 October 1421.

⁸² Hopf, *Chroniques*, 503, gives her as "Violantina q. Dorino q. Odoardo d'Oria" but without source. Some of Jacopo's coins carried a Y or V between two rosettes: Lunardi, *Monete*, 253, 256–57. The Lesbos Chronicle (in Dennis, *Byzantium*, art. I, 6–7), written between 1409 and 1428, said that, on coming of age—apparently in 1408/9—Jacopo married *Embona*, daughter of the lord of Nice. Amedeo VII of Savoy, son of Bonne de Bourbon, was lord of Nice, and he married Bonne de Berri, and their daughter Bonne married Lodovico of Savoy-Acaia in 1403: F. Gabotto, *Gli ultimi principi d'Acaia e la politica subalpina dal 1383 al 1407* (Turin, 1898), 482–83. Lodovico died in 1418, and Bonne did not remarry: P. Datta, *Storia dei principi di Savoia del ramo d'Acaia, signori del Piemonte*, I (Turin, 1832), 335–36. The Grimaldi of Breuil (Breglio) governed Nice, but no Bonne de Grimaldi who could have married Jacopo is known. Jacopo's sister, Caterina, married Pietro (not Giovanni) Grimaldi of Breuil on 21 June 1404: Gabotto, *Principi*, 518; R. Latouche and L. Imbert, *Inventaire sommaire du fonds "Città e Contado di Nizza" des Archives de Turin* (Cannes, 1937), 38. Jacopo's wife remains unidentified.

⁸³ Conze, *Reise*, pl. III (4), (7), (8); Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 254 (1), 255–56 (4), 256 (5); Lunardi, *Monete*, 250–52, 254–57, 262–71.

as Ντόρις Παλαιόλογος ὁ Γατελιούζος, that is, as a Palaiologos who was a Gattilusio, while the accompanying emblems were the imperial eagle carrying the Gattilusio arms and flanked by the Palaiologos monogram and the Gattilusio arms.⁸⁴ At Samothrake an inscription described Palamede Gattilusio as Παλαμῆδης ἑνδοξὸς Γατελιούζος, and it showed the Doria arms, the Gattilusio arms with Palaiologos in chief, the imperial eagle, and the Palaiologos monogram. Another inscription read "Palamedes Paleol[ogu]s Gatilu[s]iu[s]" and again showed the Doria arms, the arms of Gattilusio with Palaiologos in chief, and the Palaiologos monogram.⁸⁵ Jacopo seems to have left no inscription, but a notarial act of 1405 described him as Palaiologos Gattilusio.⁸⁶ The escutcheons of his brothers Dorino and Palamede might have been referring to a Palaiologina mother, or in a less strict way they were commemorating their Palaiologina grandmother. This general allusion to a Palaiologan ancestry was repeated by the humanist Ciriaco of Ancona when he visited Thasos in 1444 and addressed Dorino's son Francesco III: "Iamque vale, felix

Francisce, ingenua Palaeologum proles et insigne Gatalusia nobilissimae gentis decus."⁸⁷

The puzzle remains unsolved. Francesco II Gattilusio may have had more than one wife, which would confuse the analysis, and it is true that all indications of the Palaiologan connections of the Gattilusio might be explained in one way or another through Francesco I's marriage to John V's sister, but if Francesco II did not marry a Palaiologina, who then was his wife? He may have married a daughter of John V, and however unlikely that may seem from certain points of view, nothing seems to disprove such a marriage; or he could have married some other Palaiologina, legitimate or otherwise. In that case his children were more than half Greek and more than half Palaiologan, a consideration that must affect any assessment of the family's repeated involvement in Byzantine affairs for over a century from 1354 onward. It seems possible that during that period four successive generations of Gattilusio married into the Palaiologos family, two to emperors' daughters, one to an emperor, and one to a despot who later became an emperor.

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⁸⁴ Hasluck, "Gattelusi," 254 (1), 258, and fig. 9.

⁸⁵ Conze, *Reise*, 55 and pl. III (7), (8).

⁸⁶ Cited in G. Musso, *Navigazione e commercio genovese con il Levante nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Genova (secc. XIV–XV)* (Rome, 1975), 68–69 note 4.

⁸⁷ Text in E. Bodnar and C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean: 1444–1445* (Philadelphia, 1976), 56–57.